1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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caves, where they lived in great discomfort and constant anxiety, neglecting the cultivation of their fields.

At the request of Mgr. Jaussen, representation was made to the Peruvian government by the French minister in Lima. The British government backed France in demanding justice for the enslaved islanders. Orders were given to assemble the blackbirds at Callao so that they might be sent back to their homes. Tuberculosis, smallpox, and the change of living conditions and climate, together with unsuitable food and the hardships of guano digging on the barren islands off the Peruvian coast had killed about 900 natives in less than one year. Before the surviving 100 could be put on board ship, many of them contracted smallpox and 85 died before the end of the journey. Only 15 were landed on the island, and they carried with them the infection of smallpox, which in a very short time decimated the rest of the population. The casualties caused by the epidemic are said to have been in the thousands (64, pp. 256-257). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) adds: "The inexperience of the natives, the lack of remedies, their imprudent practices, all increased the number of victims to such an extent that they were unable to bury them."

During these few years the native culture crumbled; the old racial order was destroyed, the population reduced to one third or one quarter of its size, and the transmission of the religious and moral traditions was suddenly interrupted. Internecine wars completed the island's ruin. Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) writes:

> The former inhabitants of the island had left rather good plantations. Those who remained had an easy living and indulged in their natural laziness, not caring to insure their future by working. But when they came to the time to share the products of the fields, quarrels arose which rapidly degenerated into dangerous wars. These fights brought waste and plundering and consequently starvation. That is why the population decreased so rapidly.

Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 257) alludes to this period of anarchy and misery in the following terms:

> The mortality caused by misery and famine is increasing rapidly. The plantations have been plundered and they give scarcely any sweet potatoes, which these unhappy people eat half raw. It must be added that laziness and carelessness make their situation even worse. It is necessary for some brother with the energy of Brother Eyraud to start new plantations in the lands near the sea in order that help may be given to this starving people. It would be possible then to take care of all the children, made orphans by the death of their parents or by abandonment, who lead vagrant lives.

At this time, not before, there developed the gap between present and past which makes so difficult the understanding of many aspects of the Easter Island culture. The missionaries were struck by the native's lack of interest in their traditions and lack of knowledge of their history. They were surprised also to notice how little was left of the old religion and of the ancient social organization.

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and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

SECLUSION

Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. According to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with turmeric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatuu*) so that it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years. They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun, or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana.	You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave.
Tautau ipu kiea o nga neru.	Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*.
Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e.	You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*.
A te manava he mate,	I am in love,
Ka huru koe, neru e,	You are secluded, O *neru*,
Ka huru kataia ritorito.	Being secluded you have become white.

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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minds also, the contrast between the monuments, indicative of a flourishing and skillful population, and the desolation they found about them was a peculiar enigma. They spoke of cataclysms, of volcanic eruptions, that might have changed the course of the island's history, but these were pure guesses based on superficial observation.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, a different group of visitors appeared. These were the whalers, most of them enterprising New Englanders in pursuit of business and adventure in the South Seas. A few echoes of their experiences come to us in indirect ways. Thus we know that the captain of one of these ships kidnapped several men who afterward escaped and tried to swim back to their island although they were 3 days out. It is not surprising that relations between the whalers and the natives were far from cordial. Too often the ships' officers resorted to impressing the islanders into their service. Such incidents explain the hostility shown to some European navigators between 1820 and 1830 when they attempted to land. But these brief visits of Yankee sailors were not without benefit to the study of Easter Island. Thanks to their collecting instinct, numerous precious specimens of its early art have been well preserved in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and the Peabody Museum at Salem. In Cambridge, besides various wood and stone carvings, there are two images brought from the island, made of bark stuffed with bulrushes, which represent a branch of its artistic tradition otherwise entirely unknown. They are covered with painted designs that reproduce, with fine and precise workmanship, the elaborate patterns used in tattooing up to a hundred years ago. In this respect the old Easter Islanders rivaled the achievements of the Marquesans.

In 1859 a frightful disaster befell the islanders when Peruvian blackbirders attacked the island and kidnapped the king, a large number of the nobles and priests, and many hundred commoners, all of whom were carried off to the guano islands of Peru to work as slaves. Most of the people died within a short time. When at last the few survivors were repatriated by a French ship, they spread among the remaining islanders the smallpox and tuberculosis contracted in Peru. Thus within a few years most of the native population and with them the vital links with the past were wantonly destroyed.

The mystery of Easter Island became still deeper when, in 1864, the first Christian missionaries (members of the French Order of the Sacred Heart) arrived and tried to obtain from the natives details about the origin of the statues, and the methods that had been used to transport them—since many of them had obviously been moved from the place where the stone was quarried. Their answers to questions of this kind were unilluminating and showed that they had only a vague tradition of what had happened before their time. Their ignorance, combined with the state of primitive poverty into which they

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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demolition has gone so far that Beechey declares "the existence of any busts is doubtful."[1] It is amusing to find, a hundred years after Roggeveen's similar experience, that the *Blossom* has an affray with natives over the stealing of caps. While attention has been drawn to the importance of these early narratives, it must be remembered that all the visits were of very short duration, and that the old voyagers were not trained observers. The Dutchmen, for instance, deliberately tell us that the statues have no arms. The accounts frequently give the impression of being written up afterwards from somewhat vague recollection, and in most cases the narrators have read those of their predecessors and go prepared to see certain things. One navigator who never landed assures us that the houses are the same as in the days of La Pérouse. On the other hand, with regard to the stores available, they are, so to speak, on their own quarter-deck, and their remarks can be accepted without question.

In the "sixties" of last century the great series of changes took place which brought Easter Island into touch with the modern world. The first of these largely broke those chains with the past which the archæologist now seeks to reconstruct. Labour was needed by the exploiters of the Peruvian guano fields, and an attempt which was made to introduce it from China having failed, slave-raids were organised in the South Sea Islands. As early as 1805 Easter had suffered similarly at the hands of American sealers, and it was amongst the principal islands to be laid under contribution in December 1862.

It is pathetic even now to hear the old men describe the scenes which they witnessed in their youth, illustrating by action how the raiders threw down on the ground gifts which they thought likely to attract the inhabitants, and, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for them, tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. The natives say that one thousand in all were so removed from the island, and, unfortunately, there were amongst them some of the principal men, including many of the most learned, and the last of the ariki, or chiefs. Representations were made by the French Minister at Lima, and a certain number were put on board ship to be returned to their home. Smallpox, however, had been contracted by them, and out of one hundred who were

[1] *Voyage to the Pacific, H.M.S. "Blossom,"* p. 41.

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177 648 164 731 to be repatriated, only fifteen survived. These, on their return to the island, brought the disease with them, which spread rapidly with most fatal results to the population.

1947 Meantime, shortly before the raid, the attention of the Roman Catholic "Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary" in Valparaiso had been drawn to the island by the account received from a passing ship, and they determined to inaugurate a mission. Three of the Community left for Easter Island, their route taking them by way of Tahiti. Finally, only one continued, Eugène Eyraud, who landed on the island in January 1864. Eyraud was a lay brother in the Order, having been a merchant in South America; he devoted his life to the call to take the Gospel to Easter, and the accounts of his work, which are extraordinarily interesting, leave a great impression of his courage and devotion.[1] He was alone on the island for eight or nine months, and was at the mercy of the natives, who stole his belongings, even to the clothes he was wearing, and compelled him to make a boat for them. In March 1866, Eyraud, after a visit to Chile, returned with another missionary, Father Roussel, and the two were for a while blockaded in a house which they had put up, but the tide now turned. Either Roussel was a man of greater determination than Eyraud, or with increased numbers a firmer attitude was possible. Surgeon Palmer of H.M.S. *Topaze* tells us that when one of the natives took up a stone with a menacing gesture, Roussel quietly felled him with his stick and went on his way, after which there was no further trouble. The missionaries were joined later in the year by two more of their number, and became a power in the land.

Eyraud on his return from Chile was suffering from phthisis, of which he died in August 1868. When he was nearing his end he asked Roussel if there still remained any heathen in the island, to which the Father replied "not one"; the last seven had been baptized on the Feast of the Assumption. It seems natural to connect with Eyraud's illness the fact that there was at the same time a severe epidemic of phthisis in the island; so little was the need of precaution understood at this date, that even Surgeon Palmer, writing of the inroads made by consumption, remarks "which they (the natives) believe infectious."[2]

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[1] See *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1866, 1867, 1869.
[2] *Journal Ethnological Society*, Vol. i. p. 373.

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The ravages of this disease, following on those of smallpox, reduced the population, which at the time of the arrival of the mission had stood at twelve hundred, by about one-fourth.

The remarks of the missionaries on native customs, particularly those dealing with their ceremonies, reflect credit on the observers at a time when such things were too often thought beneath notice; they will be referred to later. Their ethnological work was, however, limited by more pressing exigencies, by the difficulties of locomotion on the island, and by the language. Roussel compiled a vocabulary, which is useful to students, though not free from the mode of thought found in a well-known missionary dictionary, which translates hansom cab into the Swahili language. It is a curious fact that so completely were the terraces now ruined that the Fathers never allude to the statues, and seem scarcely to have realised their existence; but it is through them that we first hear of the wooden tablets carved with figures. The body of professors acquainted with this art of writing perished, either in Peru or by epidemic, and this, in connection with the introduction of Christianity, led to great destruction of the existing specimens of this most interesting script. The natives said that they burnt the tablets in compliance with the orders of the missionaries, though such suggestion would hardly be needed in a country where wood is scarce; the Fathers, on the contrary, state that it was due to them that any were preserved. Some certainly were saved by their means and through the interest shown in them by Bishop Jaussen of Tahiti, while two or three found their way to museums after the natives became aware of their value; but some or all of these existing tablets are merely fragments of the original. The natives told us that an expert living on the south coast, whose house had been full of such glyphs, abandoned them at the call of the missionaries, on which a man named Niari, being of a practical mind, got hold of the discarded tablets and made a boat of them wherein he caught much fish. When the "sewing came out," he stowed the wood into a cave at an ahu near Hanga Roa, to be made later into a new vessel there. Pakarati, an islander now living, found a piece, and it was acquired by the U.S.A. ship *Mohican*.

Side by side with the establishment of the religious power the secular had come into being. The master of the ship who had